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FOR CARTER FROM PA

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT OF NEW YORK TIMES BY-LINER BY MARTIN TOLCHIN, TUESDAY, JULY 18, HEADED "POLITICAL ADVISERS GAIN FOREIGN ROLE."

2. WASHINGTON, JULY 17--PRESIDENT CARTER IS INCREASINGLY INVOLVING HIS POLITICAL AND DOMESTIC ADVISERS IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH HE VIEWS AS INEXTRICABLY TIED TO POLITICAL AND DOMESTIC CONCERNS, ACCORDING TO SENIOR WHITE HOUSE AIDES.

3. ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO, FOR EXAMPLE, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISER ON NATIONAL SECURITY, AND HIS STAFF, MET WITH STUART EIZENSTAT, MR. CARTER'S
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CHIEF DOMESTIC ADVISER, AND HIS STAFF, TO PLAN STRATEGY FOR THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE THAT ENDED TODAY IN BONN.

4. "WE'RE INTERACTING MUCH MORE SYSTEMATICALLY THESE DAYS," MR. BRZEZINSKI SAID OF THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC STAFFS.

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5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN SPEEDED UP IN RECENT YEARS AS A RESULT OF WHAT MR. BRZEZINSKI CALLS A "FUSION" OF INTERNATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONCERNS. TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES HAVE GIVEN AN IMMEDIATE DOMESTIC IMPACT TO DECISIONS THAT PREVIOUSLY TOOK YEARS TO BE FELT. DECISIONS REGARDING A TOXIC HERBICIDE IN MEXICO, A THRIVING TELEVISION INDUSTRY IN JAPAN AND A JOINT BRITISH-FRENCH AIRCRAFT VENTURE ALL ARE QUICKLY FELT ON THE STREETS OF NEW YORK OR SAN FRANCISCO.

6. OTHER FACTORS INCLUDE INCREASED CONGRESSIONAL EFFORTS TO ASSERT AUTHORITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INCLUDING EFFORTS AT RESTRICTING TRADE AND VETOING ARMS SALES. SENATOR SAM NUNN, DEMOCRAT OF GEORGIA, TERMS THIS ACTIVISM "THE VIETNAM SYNDROME," A REACTION TO AN UNPOPULAR WAR TO WHICH THE NATION WAS COMMITTED BY ITS PRESIDENTS WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS. AS A RESULT, THE SENATOR SAYS, CONGRESS NOW SEEKS CONTROL OVER EVEN THE MOST MINISCULE FOREIGN-POLICY INITIATIVES.

7. UNTIL FOUR MONTHS AGO, FOREIGN POLICY WAS LARGELY SHAPED AT WEEKLY BREAKFAST MEETINGS THAT THE PRESIDENT HELD WITH HIS TOP FOREIGN-POLICY ADVISERS, SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE, WHO SET THE AGENDA, SECRETARY OF
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DEFENSE HAROLD BROWN AND MR. BRZEZINSKI.

8. AT THAT TIME, POLLS SHOWED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY OPPOSED THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAD INVESTED MUCH OF HIS DECLINING PRESTIGE. FURTHERMORE, SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HAD WARNED MR. CARTER OF A MAJOR BATTLE ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS SALE PACKAGE AND HAD ALSO ADVISED HIM NOT TO SUBMIT A STRATEGIC-ARMS LIMITATION TREATY TO THE SENATE THIS YEAR.

9. THAT WAS WHEN THE PRESIDENT, LIKE MANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS, DECIDED THAT HE NEEDED MORE DOMESTIC POLICY EXPERTS INVOLVED IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY. IN MARCH, HE DIRECTED HAMILTON JORDAN, HIS CHIEF POLITICAL ADVISER, TO ATTEND THE WEEKLY MEETINGS.

10. BY ALL ACCOUNTS, MR. JORDAN HAS PLAYED A SUBSTANTIVE AS WELL AS A TACTICAL ROLE. HE HAS URGED MR. CARTER TO TAKE A TOUGH ANTI-SOVIET STANCE AND HELPED SHAPE THE ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED AT WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY IN MARCH, AND

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HIS MORE RECENT HARD-LINE COMMENTS AT ANNAPOLIS LAST MONTH.

11. AT A RECENT MEETING, MR. JORDAN AND THE PRESIDENT'S OTHER DOMESTIC ADVISERS AGREED WITH THE FOREIGN-POLICY STAFF THAT MR. VANCE SHOULD PROCEED WITH STRATEGIC-ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, DESPITE THE TRIALS OF THE SOVIET DISSIDENTS ANATOLY B. SCHARANSKY AND ALEKSANDR GINZBURG.

12. "WE SAT AROUND THE TABLE AND THERE JUST WASN'T ANY SUPPORT FOR DELAYING THE VANCE VISIT," JODY POWELL, THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY, RECALLED. "WE RECOGNIZED THAT WE WOULD GET FLAK FROM THE REPUBLICANS, AND FROM UNCLASSIFIED

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JACKSON AND MOYNIHAN, BUT IT'S NOT CREDIBLE TO CHANGE THAT POLICY. DO YOU DELAY IT, AND THEY GO AHEAD AND CONVICT THE GUYS, AND YOU GO BACK? IT'S TEMPTING AT THE MOMENT, BUT WHEN YOU SIT DOWN AND ANALYZE IT, IT JUST DOESN'T MAKE ANY SENSE."

13. THE DOMESTIC ADVISERS URGED, INSTEAD, A REVIEW OF TRADE, TECHNOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES WITH THE RUSSIANS. "YOU DON'T LOOK FOR AN AREA THAT COSTS YOU AS MUCH AS IT DOES THEM," MR. POWELL SAID.

14. AFTER EACH FOREIGN POLICY SESSION, MR. JORDAN HAS TALKED WITH OTHER TOP DOMESTIC ADVISERS: MR. POWELL, MR. EIZENSTAT AND FRANK MOORE, THE CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON OFFICER, AND IT IS MR. JORDAN WHO HAS BEEN CREDITED WITH DEVISING AND DIRECTING THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS THAT WON SENATE APPROVAL OF BOTH THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES AND THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS SALE.

15. MR. CARTER, IN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY, STRESSED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT FOREIGN POLICY BE BACKED BY A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS AND REFLECT VALUES SUCH AS A COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH HAS BEEN ONE OF THE TOUCHSTONES OF HIS RECORD IN FOREIGN POLICY. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS DISCOVERED, HOWEVER, THAT DOMESTIC POLITICS CAN UNDO CAREFULLY WROUGHT FOREIGN INITIATIVES.

16. "THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION SOMETIMES LIMITS OR CONSTRAINS THE ACTIONS OF A PRESIDENT," MR. JORDAN SAYS, "AND SOMETIMES PROVIDES HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO THINGS THAT OTHER PRESIDENTS HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO DO."

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17. SENATOR NUNN, A MEMBER OF THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, BELIEVES THAT THE "VIETNAM SYNDROME" HAS LED TO A MISTAKEN EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL CONSENSUS BEFORE A MOVE CAN BE MADE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE BELIEVES THAT REACTION TO THE VIETNAM WAR ALSO HAS LED TO A FEAR THAT ANY FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT, SUCH AS IN AFRICA, COULD LEAD TO THE COMMITMENT OF AMERICAN TROOPS.

18. WHITE HOUSE AIDES POINT TO AMERICAN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS A PRIME EXAMPLE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY. THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZED ISRAEL, IN 1948, BECAUSE PRESIDENT TRUMAN VIEWED RECOGNITION "AS A WAY TO APPEAL TO JEWISH VOTERS AND PERHAPS HEAD OFF DISASTER IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION," ROBERT DONOVAN WROTE IN HIS BOOK ON THE TRUMAN PRESIDENCY, "CONFLICT AND CRISIS."

19. THIRTY YEARS LATER, PRESIDENT CARTER IS SEEKING WAYS TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY, WHICH HE HAS ALIENATED BY HIS SUPPORT FOR SALE OF AIRCRAFT TO THE SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS. CHRISTOPHER

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